/40 cont./

224 animal is capable of distinguishing between the brave and
*[525] the cowardly, and the latter is the first to be attacked and consequently to be badly injured.

*825 Jaguar skin, as I have already said, has intrinsic value:
[554] it is used in saddleries for the bottom padding of saddles and
[558] for saddlebags: it is a luxury for persons of rank. The ani-
[559] mal has a quantity of fat, and this is a good remedy for
[539] rheumatism, aching bones, and other ailments: the Indians take it and sell it in the interior of the Republic and trade it for used clothing. It is to be noted, however, that they do falsify it, as they also falsify snake grease, because it can be understood that the killing of this ferocious animal is not a
[464] frequent thing. Rarely does the Chiriguano hunt the jaguar, and he is not always inclined to help the white man, but the latter forces his peons to do so, and they gather the fat and
[462] sell or present it to their friends or relatives. Jaguar meat is good food, although, to be sure, it smells wild, as does the skin, but this meat, if placed in salt water or brine overnight, loses its bad smell: they assert that this meat is like that of a cow.

*136 The male jaguar is quite large. I measured one, and it was two meters long from the tail, one meter high, and it weighed seven arrobas. The female is smaller: I measured one that had just been killed: from the tail it measured one meter and ten centimeters, was 75 centimeters high, and
[731] weighed four and a half arrobas. The female gives birth every three years, and the newborn cubs are always a pair, one male and one female: the mother is most dangerous when she has young /illustration appears here/ /41/ and defends them at any cost, but hunters first kill the mother and then try to catch the cubs alive: they almost always succeed and take them home to domesticate them, but this is an impossible job because they are jaguars forever: I have seen two of these cubs well chained but very bad. In general, cubs when taken away from their mother die in a few days either through lack of adequate food, which is milk, or also out of desperation upon finding themselves in the midst of beings foreign to their nature.

/111 cont./

141 both men and women, and fair hair indicates either an
142 oddity or a clandestine affair. The forehead is rather small, as are also the languid, downcast eyes; the face is round, the nose flat, the mouth wide, the denture white as ivory, the chin short, and the lips rather thick. /112/ The
142 men do not wear beards, and anyone would believe that they
302 are beardless, but the main reason why they do not have one is that they pull out the hairs as they grow, and for this they have some tin tweezers with which they make all the hair disappear, and they do well, because otherwise, in view of their slovenliness, with long beards they would really be orangutans (1).

[186] 1. The Toba call the Chiriguano tigre face because of his round face, and the latter gets back at them by calling them horse face because of their long faces. In the missions the neophytes wear mustache and goatee.

141 They have a chest thrust forward, rather heavy
[291] shoulders and arms, normal-sized hands, and not very big feet, in spite of the fact that they grow as they will since they always go barefoot, especially the women, and not
147 all of them wear sandals /ojotas/. When they are enjoy-
[853] ing good health, they are very robust, and the women without the slightest bother will nurse two babes at their
[609] breasts. Whenever some white Christian woman is not able to nurse, she usually seeks out a Chiriguano woman to wet-nurse her child; this, in addition to being very advantageous because of the goodness of the blood, is also quite eco-
855 nomical. But it is true that most Indian women do not
[809] wish to take care of children other than their own; most
[466] of the time they agree to it with reluctance, or by force, this last occurring when the Indians are subject to a master.

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643 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the
692 cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following
692 his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the
cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with
another piece of wood set between them. He called together
all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad
daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was
[671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he
does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the
one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his
region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be
respected and that he may be feared (1).

622 1. When a sorcerer does not manage to ac-
643 complish what he has promised, because he
756 perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's
646 prerogative to order the death sentence and
692 burning.

Separation from Command

622
631 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the
643 abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the
present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw
from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find
it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by
having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared
them free from such obedience, naming another more humane
person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it.
649 This has become easier today by agreement with the political
• 646 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that
464 when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named
622 by the political authority, he is new to be subject to all the
643 demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the
latter, who do not like the yoke of the caray /white man/, be-
come impatient and emigrate.

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A fact that confirms what has been said happened in the Caipipendi region. The regional cacique Tengua was succeeded by his son Cariti, who, because of the grave errors that he made or was supposed to have made, was dismissed, and the native Tarúire, who apparently at least had very good qualities, was named in his place. This latter, selected by the whites with the consent or nomination of the Indians, had to return the favor of his benefactors who had elevated him and consequently to respond to all the demands and requests for peons, and one time the poor Indians had to go to Santa Cruz as a guarantee for the /164/ unhappy Indians who feared that, under the pretext of jobs in the city, they would be taken to the Beni (1).

[566]

1. In El Beni men are sold for 1,000 Bs. and women at a lesser price. Baron D. Erland Nordenskiold gave a lecture in London proving that slavery exists in Bolivia and Peru.

This concern of Tarúire and suspicion of the Indians originated in a publicly known event which took place in the year 1905, when a party of Indians sold to the rubber plantations were taken from there; rumors of this event spread rapidly through all the newspapers of the Republic, which expressed disapproval of it, and at that time I saw whole groups of families who, with all of their possessions, emigrated to other lands.

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The result of this is that today many Indians obey Tarúire, not out of love or loyalty, but out of fear of the harsh punishment which the political authorities would immediately impose on them; and the cacique is now beginning to tire of this task which is so odious for him, for he wants to be tranquil in his home and to enjoy peace. He has repeatedly said this to me and he would be satisfied if they would renominate Cariti, for whom the Indians hold proper respect.

4: Nino--320 M-3 (1898-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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Chapter Ten

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Agriculture, Animals, Food

Introduction

The Holy Bible, when it gives us the account or tells us the story of the fall of the first man, makes it clear to us that God, after having made known to him the fault committed, announced to him that he had incurred the punishment of having to seek out and provide himself with food through manual labor and the sweat of his brow.

Actually the land, which up to that time had spontaneously produced in abundance everything that man could have desired, became full of weeds, brambles, and thorns when cursed by God as a consequence of Adam's sin. /The remainder of p. 236 is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 237./

/237/ Why are there so many weeds and thorns in the forests of America? Because it is little cultivated, uncultivated, because one element is missing, the laborer is missing, and God said that, without labor: Tribulos et spinas germinabit tibi. Let us leave to one side the unexplored territory and confine our consideration to the entire Chiriguano region, which is inhabited today by whites and blacks, or Indians.

The white man wishes to put in practice what, according to the story, was predicted by the Aguara-Tunpa when he made them choose the weapons. The white man wishes to be served and to ride upon his showy and spirited horse, to wear his firearm in his belt or his dagger in his boot and, like a great lord, force the Chiriguano to serve him in exchange for food or money, and thus, for agriculture, the arm of the white is almost a dead one. There are whites who call themselves agriculturalists or farmers because they have many Chiriguano peons whom they order and direct to work in the field for their own interest and profit.

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/237 cont./

648 464 466 It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

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1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /leva raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII; in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

178 [169] Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday; in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648 [241] The object of the present chapter is to describe the method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them; now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them continually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them

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Chapter Fourteen

Infidels and Neophytes of the Missions

Introduction

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648 The continual revolts of the Chiriguano against the white race clearly demonstrate their aversion toward the Christian element, which they consider to be the effective cause of their misfortunes and of the almost total loss of their territory, of which not too long ago they considered themselves the legitimate owners and absolute rulers. It is as clear as the midday sun that the Christian, with the patience and constancy of an anchorite and in many circumstances risking his life, has gradually taken over the extensive region. Today there is no corner where an occasional Christian family is not living. In many places the
161 Chiriguano tribe has completely disappeared, whether through
464 epidemics or through loss of freedom; in some places a rather
466 considerable nucleus exists under the control of a master, either
648 because of the territory which it cultivates or because of a debt which has been contracted (1).

1. The caciques of the Curuyuqui war, in their ignorance, thought that they could recover the lost territory and, in revenge, take over most of the Republic.

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648 The Indians located in the area to the left of the Pilcomayo
[184] River took only one thing into consideration when they resolutely refused to have a conversion mission founded; they only considered that behind the missionary would come those whom they considered invaders; they only understood that white Christians would gather behind or around the Cross, which Father Giannelli planted with considerable daring in the middle of the nineteenth century. But why is it that the Indians of Tarairí /298/ are still owners of their land? Because of the missionary, whom one faction, in its ignorance, wanted to leave when the destruction of the flourishing missions of San Francisco and San Antonio began, where six years ago building a new London was attempted, with almost

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in Pipi; to free themselves from such vexations, they have been asking for a mission. There are still more of them in Caipipendi; I have spoken with them repeatedly, because they have their own land, but they are still not inclined to ask for the founding of a mission, and the reason for this is clear, they are not greatly persecuted.

Even in this case the adult proposes the bases of the agreement; he asks for freedom to follow his barbarous customs, without being obliged to receive baptism and consequently to enter the church to hear Mass and to do other things proper to Catholic worship, because his hair and the tembeta are out of place in God's house, and they feel extreme embarrassment on seeing themselves mixed in among children, young people, and whites. The advantage that religion presents is the education of the youth and the baptism of the infants, who in great quantities fly straight to heaven, because there are many who die, regenerated by holy baptism.

Provided that he does not speak to them about religion or about receiving baptism, the missionary can do what he wishes with the adult Indian. It is enough if he only shows a little foresight from the beginning regarding the way in which they must live in the mission. One who freely and spontaneously gave his name obeys in every respect, provided that effort and care are taken to suppress any disorder or disobedience immediately.

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If he is needed for personal labor, it is not likely that he will refuse, at least in the first years, even though he be paid no wages /300/ nor given anything, since he understands that the missionary orders the construction of a building, not for speculation, but for the moral and civil progress of his children. If the missionary ordains, as is the case, that during the night they cease singing, they will comply, in spite of the fact that at times it is necessary to remind them with some sharpness, noting here that words alone are of little value.

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The tribes described here are friends and allies of the Chiriguano, and, when the latter have an abundant crop of maize, the former draw near to the towns of their friends; according to tribes, they build their ovens, where they hide, along the bank of some rivulet or some stream.

They remain there, help the Chiriguano in the harvest, perform menial services for him by carrying wood, cleaning house, and doing other domestic chores, and in exchange they get a little maize for themselves and their family. When they go back into the forest, they take several libras or arrobas of maize, depending on the harvests that the Chiriguano may have had.

In the Tarija missions this happens quite frequently, because they are nearer to their territory. The caciques of the savages then present themselves to the Chiriguano cacique to announce their arrival and the presence of their tribe and the latter in turn brings him before the P. /padre/ Conversor to obtain the necessary permission.

In these circumstances none of the tribes is lazy, because they understand that in order to eat it is necessary to work, under penalty of being immediately thrown out of the foreign territory where he has found so much abundance. Neither are they permitted many months stay, because they are capable of staying until they use up all the maize and leave the Chiriguano's cupboard bare.

Several times I saw these tribes in a state of temporary emigration, and it was pitiful to see such poverty, forlorness, filthiness, ignorance, and want. Long rows of ovens could be seen in communication with one another, full of men, women, children, and dogs, and living there worse off than dirty animals in filth.

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The Indian, who loves an independent life, but is forced into the dance of civilization, does not want to become a mission child, but chooses this as the lesser evil. In the mission he is under guardians, but not under oppressors.

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When my friend, the Chané Indian Batirayu, of whom I have spoken several times here, asked me whether it would not be best to ask the missionaries to come to the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, he thought of them as rescuers from the oppression of the white masters.

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When I asked the Chiriguano chief Maringay whether he did not want missionaries to come to his village, the old man became quite indignant and said peevishly: "I have not done anything bad."

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The greatest importance of the missionaries lies in the fact that they try to protect the Indians from the oppression and the vices of the whites. I have been pleased to see how the missionaries forbid liquor, the accursed liquor, in the mission stations.

Nevertheless, I do not believe in the future of the missions. It seems to me they are condemned to oblivion. To the extent that the Indians are given better treatment by the other whites and receive proper compensation for their work, they will leave the missions and forsake the guardianship of the Franciscan monks.

The missionaries, however, will always have the honor of having tried, at least to some extent, to protect the Indians from the other Christians. They have also earned honor for the studies they have made of the language, manners, and customs of the Indians.

Fear of the Rubber Regions

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In a previous chapter I spoke of the migration of the Indians to Argentina. In the /299/ northernmost territory of the Chiriguano Indians another emigration is taking place. It differs from the first, among other things, by the fact that it is not voluntary. It concerns the rubber regions in northeastern

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Bolivia. Every Indian who goes to the Argentine sugar factories knows that, if there is no disaster, he will return. No one holds him back by force. From the rubber regions, on the other hand, no one ever returns.

Is it true, they say, that there is a giant there who devours human beings? Is it true that people /300/ are ground

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Fig. 132. Chané children. Rio Parapiti.

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up into rubber? Is it true that the meat that comes in tin cans is from human beings? These are questions which the Indians asked me.

The Chiriguano Indians, especially from the Caipipendi valley, were lured in a shameless manner to the rubber regions in northern

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Bolivia, where they were sold as laborers. Under the guard of armed men, they were brought down the Rio Mamoré by way of Quatro-Ojos.

I shall have a better opportunity, however, to discuss the relations of the Indians to the rubber industry in the book in which I shall report on the studies which I made in the rubber regions themselves and among the Indians located near them (1).

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1. Appeared in Swedish under the title Indianer och hvita i nordöstra Bolivia, Stockholm, 1911.

I shall therefore not go into this question in greater detail here.

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Compulsory Service for the Whites

The Chiriguano and Chané who work as servants in their own country for the immigrant white race are extraordinarily poorly paid. This is especially true in the remote regions where the higher prices for labor in the Argentine sugar factories, as the result of competition, have not been able to react on wages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti, for example, are seldom paid more than 20 centavos (not quite 35 pfennigs) per day with board. The women earn about half as much. The Indians are paid their wages partly in spirits and sugar, partly in cloth and tools. The cloth is so poor that a shirt made from such material does not last much longer than the time required to earn it. As a result of this system, the Chané and Chiriguano, like their fellow-tribesmen in the rubber regions in northeastern Bolivia, sink into debt slavery.

/301/ It is to be hoped that the large projects initiated by the engineer Herrmann in San Franzisko on the Rio Pilcomayo will improve the Indian wage situation generally. If he will pay better than others, all the Indians will come to him, and the other employers will have to increase their wages.

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[466] Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

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Fig. 133. Clay vessel. 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

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648 way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

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648. /302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions
466 under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to
465 Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many
167. Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but for-
925. ever.

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648. If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the
273 Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst
177 evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference between drinking maize beer and liquor.